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Moscow Intervenes in a Policy Debate: The Case  
of Opposition to US Missiles  
in West Germany

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Intelligence Assessment

April 1984

OGI/ISID  
Communist Activities Branch

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Moscow Intervenes in a Policy Debate: The Case  
of Opposition to US Missiles  
in West Germany

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Key Judgments

Moscow demonstrated its ability to influence political debate in other countries last year during the campaign against the deployment of US missiles in West Germany. Although unsuccessful in blocking deployment, Moscow was able to keep the prime focus of the debate on the new US missiles and away from the fact that the deployments were a response to Soviet emplacement of hundreds of SS-20s.

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the Soviets believe the publicity given the peace movement strengthened their hand in the negotiations in Geneva on intermediate range nuclear forces (INF).

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Moscow is calling for continued resistance to the US missiles and will use the methods employed last autumn to focus attention on additional deployments:

- o Soviet radio broadcasts in German are warning that the deployments have their price: no nuclear arms control negotiations unless the US missile shipments are reversed. Media articles may become more intimidating, as they did last autumn warning that West Germany, "a small, densely populated country" was in "mortal danger" if it allowed itself to be used as a "launching pad" for US missiles.

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- o The Soviet-dominated World Peace Council met in West Berlin in January and vowed [REDACTED] to renew its campaign against the US missiles.

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West German affiliates have begun planning Easter peace marches and new demonstrations.

- o We expect the Soviet-German Friendship Society--also active in presenting the Soviet views last fall--to be active in the next phase, especially as Leonid Zamyatin, Chief of the Central Committee International Information Department is the chairman.

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Table

World Peace Council Affiliates and Related Fronts  
in West Germany and West Berlin

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Moscow Intervenes in a Policy Debate: The Case  
of Opposition to US Missiles  
in West Germany

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The political pressure Moscow can generate against a foreign government whose policies it opposes is multi-faceted, often encompassing propaganda agencies, front organizations, and local Communist parties. These resources were used most recently in the attempt to influence the West German Bundestag's vote last autumn on deploying US Pershing II and cruise missiles. The Soviet media, Central Committee departments, West German affiliates of the World Peace Council, the Soviet embassy, consulates, and Soviet-German Friendship Society, as well as the Communist parties of West Berlin and West Germany were all used by Moscow in an attempt to influence the public debate on deployment. Although Moscow was unable to stop the deployments, these organizations were successful in making inroads into the peace movement and in helping to focus protests on the US missiles and away from the fact that the deployments were a response to Soviet emplacement of hundred of Soviet SS-20s.

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This paper examines the methods used by the Soviet Union to intervene in the West German debate and assesses this intervention from the Soviet perspective.

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Soviet Media Coverage

The Soviet media tried to influence a broad cross-section of the West German of public both by intimidation and by more friendly persuasion. Moscow Radio's German language broadcasts carrying Tass and Pravda stories warned West German audiences in October and November that the Federal Republic would be targeted by Soviet nuclear forces if US missiles were deployed. Tass on November 17 graphically described West Germany as "a small, densely populated country" which would be in "mortal danger" if it allowed itself to be used as a launching pad "for US first strike" weapons. Pravda chief editor Afanasyev asserted that Moscow would feel compelled to deploy military countermeasures which would improve neither country's security and increase the danger of war. He implied that the Soviets would have to respond militarily because Pershing IIs have an alleged capability to reach their targets in the USSR three to eight minutes after launch and to penetrate ground-sheltered Soviet nuclear forces and military command centers to a depth of 30 meters. Under those circumstances, Tass warned in advance that nuclear arms control negotiations would be impossible. [REDACTED]

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Soviet media articles reported by Radio Moscow tried to find sympathetic German audiences. Soviet media publicized the peace movement in an attempt, we believe, to attract additional proponents by exaggerating the movement's political strength. "Most of the FRG population, trade unions, entire parties, and numerous organizations, associations, and federations oppose" US intermediate range nuclear forces (INF), Pravda asserted on

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November 18. The government in Bonn would be ignoring its own public opinion, Pravda argued, if it proceeded with deployment. Tass attributed the "noticeable turn" of the Social Democratic Party, from an original proponent of new US missiles in Europe under NATO's dual-track decision to an opponent of deployment, to the influence of the "mighty" peace movement. [REDACTED]

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The Role of World Peace Council Affiliates

The Soviet-sponsored World Peace Council assigned first priority in 1983 to the propaganda campaign against the missiles.<sup>1</sup> The Prague World Peace Assembly in June was the centerpiece of the Council's efforts last year. The Council's West German affiliates, many of which attended the Prague Assembly, complied with its priorities. The Committee for Peace, Disarmament, and Cooperation (KFAZ), with 10 members of its bureau also Council members, advocated the "fight against NATO counter-arming as the crucial question of 1983,"

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The German Peace Union (DFU), a Council affiliate, promoted the Krefeld Appeal, a drive to collect signatures on a petition appealing to the government in Bonn to refuse US missile deployments. Scientists for Peace and Disarmament, which include Hans Krymanski, a West German Communist who serves on the Council's Presidential Committee, supported the October week of demonstrations.

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World Peace Council affiliates, together with other related fronts of the West German and West Berlin parties, have attempted to extend their influence in the non-Communist left and in the Social Democratic and Green parties as well as in the peace movement. The West German Communist party has about 50 front

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organizations. Among these, the Socialist German Workers Youth (SDAJ) and Spartakus Marxist Student Federation (MSB) have been particularly active in working with Social Democratic youth and the peace movement. The West Berlin party has founded or co-founded front groups as peace initiatives, including the city-wide Youth Initiative Against Rearmament and Artists Initiative for Peace. It has heavy representation in the 10 district peace initiatives and has supported peace concerts, film showings, lectures, and seminars with anti-INF themes. Most of the fronts of these two parties have East German counterparts and frequently East German connections. (see Table 1).

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The Work of the Soviet Embassy, Consulates, and  
Friendship Societies

The Soviet embassy in Bonn mounted an intensive effort in the corridors of the Bundestag before last autumn's vote. Soviet embassy officials met or entertained deputies willing to listen to the Soviet case. Although we have no information on the extent of this activity, US Embassy personnel in Bonn believe it was substantial.

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officers in Hamburg frequently spoke at city and county chapter meetings of the party in Bremen, Bremerhaven, Hamburg, Kiel, Luneberg, and Wedel. In Hamburg, they also spoke at schools and civic organizations.

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The Soviet

consulate in West Berlin has been circumspect in its contacts with the Communist party there in deference to the Allied authorities.

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Soviet consulates also spurred the ten chapters of the Soviet-German Friendship Society in West Germany and West Berlin into the debate over INF deployment.

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Communist Party Activities

In response to Soviet and East German requirements to give priority to working within the peace movement, the Communist parties of West Berlin and West Germany committed cadres of party workers, money, experience at handling mass demonstrations, printing presses, and organizing skills to the movement.

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They invariably favored large, peaceful demonstrations for media impact and opposed the plans of the autonomous groups in the peace movement for violent demonstrations, such as the one at Bremerhaven, according to a West German service.

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In associated activities:

- o The West German Communist party, as part of an effort dubbed "Operation Powderkeg," collected data on US military installations and suspected Pershing II sites. Unsere Zeit, the party newspaper, subsequently published a map of the locations with descriptions of the installations. this map, republished in the West German print media, facilitated plans for blockades at the sites by the peace movement.

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- o The West Berlin party attempted to recruit US military personnel stationed in West Berlin to participate in the 1983 demonstrations, arguing that the German people did not dislike Americans, only the administration in Washington

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- o Both parties collected signatures for anti-INF petitions, transported people from all regions of West Germany to the sites of mass demonstrations, dominated the Easter peace marches, and worked to avoid a complete split with the autonomous groups, according to a West German service.

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Moscow is prime adviser to the West German and West Berlin Communist parties, but we believe the East Germans provide most of the close, detailed guidance in line with Soviet policy.

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We believe

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[redacted]

that the East German party delivers special funds to West Berlin party officials on some occasions when they visit East Berlin.

[redacted]

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### An Assessment

Although unable to prevent a Bundestag vote favoring deployment, the Soviets contributed importantly to intensifying the West German debate, making it more anti-US. They also helped to shape the debate so that it diverted attention from the SS-20 deployment that prompted a NATO response and US deployments. To achieve these ends, the Soviets brought the full weight of their political infrastructure--media, fronts, and parties--to bear on the policy debate. Moscow's gains last autumn include:

- o The inroads made by Communist front organizations and parties into the peace movement, a loose coalition of Green party supporters, church groups, Young Socialists, violence-prone autonomous groups, and prominent personalities. The Communists' success resulted in large part because they were virtually unopposed by any competing, equally-skilled political organization. The Social Democratic party or the West German Trade Union Federation, either of which could have matched the Communist efforts, remained outside the movement.
- [redacted]

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- o Success by the Communist parties and fronts in limiting criticism by the peace movement of the Soviet SS-20s and focusing protest actions principally on US Pershing II and cruise missiles. The peace movement operates on the basis of a minimal consensus which, with Communist participation, means that the lowest common denominator tends to be opposition to the US missiles.
- o Strengthening the Soviet bargaining position at the Geneva INF negotiations [redacted] 25X1  
[redacted] Moscow apparently did not feel the need 25X1  
to compromise at Geneva because of the activities of the peace movement. The US delegation to the Geneva talks reported that the Soviets frequently referred to the peace movement and to the public opinion polls on the missile issue published in the international press.
- o The vote against deployment in the Social Democratic party special conference and the Bundestag even though the Soviets had little to do with it directly.
- o Perhaps most important, they gained practical experience with the so-called new politics of protest movements, including the political bent of German youth, ecologists' alliances, and feminists' movements. [redacted] 25X1

Outlook

We expect Moscow to use the infrastructure now in place to press opposition to the missiles during the protracted two-year deployment of Pershing IIs and perhaps longer for cruise missile deployments. **Soviet media** already are urging resistance to missile arrivals. The media are taking pains to point out alleged US bad faith and the history of unrewarded Soviet concessions in the Geneva INF talks as the Soviet rationale for staying away from any further INF negotiations unless the deployments are reversed. Moscow may be looking for impatience among the West German population and parliamentary opposition to prompt demands for a pause in missile arrivals and installation so that negotiations can resume. The Soviet media also are courting Social Democrats, Greens, and the peace movement with proposals for a nuclear freeze between the super powers, no first-use of nuclear weapons by either superpower, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe embracing both Germanies, and nonaggression pacts between the two blocs in Europe.

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Ponomarev, chief of the **Central Committee** International Department, called West German Communist officials to Moscow last December, along with East bloc party secretaries for ideology, to convey policy guidelines for the campaign against the missiles during the deployment period, according to a West German service. Judging from Ponomarev's article in the December Kommunist, the new guidelines for work with the peace movement are as follows:

- o explain persistently and graphically that the United States was to blame for failure of the Geneva INF negotiations;
- o create new slogans for curtailing deployment and removing the missiles already in place;
- o protest the appearance of each new missile;
- o assure audiences that Soviet countermeasures will cease and nuclear arms control negotiations will resume if the missiles are not deployed.

Chernenko and Ponomarev told West Berlin Communist officials in early February that the deployments are not irreversible, according to Tass. [REDACTED]

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**Communist front organizations** have already begun their efforts. The World Peace Council met in West Berlin in January to renew its own propaganda campaign against the US missiles, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The Council hopes to collaborate with independent peace organizations throughout Western Europe. The choice of West Berlin for the January meeting may have been designed to appeal to the West European groups. [REDACTED]

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The Council's West German affiliates are planning demonstrations for this year. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] the German Peace Society/United War Service

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[redacted]

Opponents, for example, has appealed to West German civil servants and police to authorize demonstrations, tolerate civil disobedience by the peace movement, and make streets and facilities available for protest actions. [redacted]

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[redacted] a coordinating conference of the peace movement at a February meeting in Cologne with Communist participation discussed plans for a national referendum on the missile issue in June at the time of European parliamentary elections. Local coordinating committees have initiated planning for the Easter peace marches. [redacted]

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Similarly, the **German-Soviet Friendship Society** almost certainly will be activated for the next phase. According to Izvestiya, the Soviets re-elected Leonid Zamyatin, head of the Central Committee International Information Department, as the Society's chairman in December. With Zamyatin as chairman, we can expect the Society to implement an aggressive campaign against the missiles. [redacted]

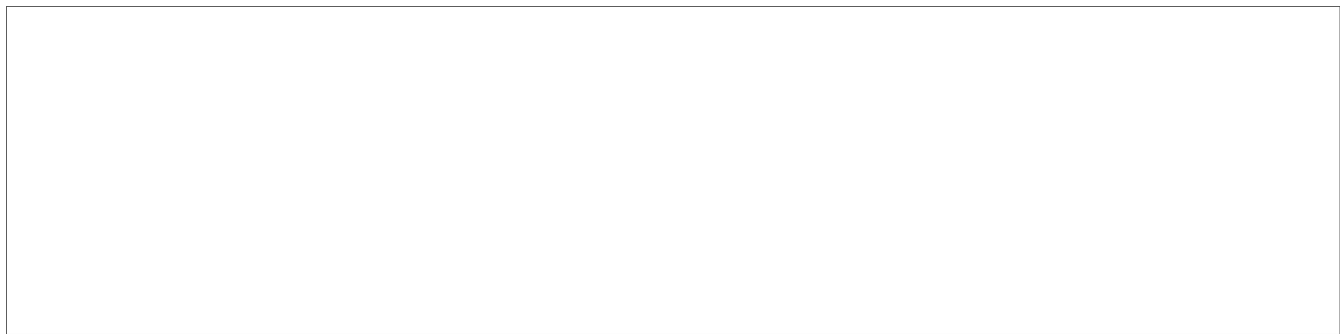
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Moscow expects the **Communist parties** in West Germany and West Berlin to continue actions along the lines of last autumn's campaign. The Soviets' pragmatic approach to collaboration with the peace movement will push the parties to cooperate with a wide spectrum of West German groups which oppose the missiles. [redacted]

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Although the probability of the peace movement in West Germany matching the public impact it had last year has declined, the Communist parties may play a larger role in a smaller movement. In addition, since public opinion polls in West Germany are still running strongly against US deployments, we believe the the peace movement, and the Communists' ability to work with it, will remain a latent problem.

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Table 1

World Peace Council Affiliates and Related  
Front Organizations in West Germany and West Berlin

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Estimated Membership</u>	<u>CPSU/WPC/GDR* and Other Soviet Front Linkages</u>
Socialist German Workers Youth (SDAJ)	15,000 (with 100 factory groups)	Soviet Komsomol; World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY); GDR Free German Youth (FDJ)
Young Pioneers (JP)	3,500	International Committee of Children's and Adolescents Movement (CIMEA); GDR children's movements
Spartakus Marxist Student Federation (MSB)	6,000	Soviet Komsomol; WFDY; GDR Free German Youth
Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime/League of Anti-fascists (VVN-VdA)	--	World Peace Council; GDR Committee of Anti- fascists Resistance Fighters (IFR)
German Peace Union (DFU)	--	Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace; World Peace Council; GDR Peace Council
Committee for Peace, Dis- armament and Cooperation (KFAZ)	--	Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace; World Peace Council; GDR Peace Council
German Peace Society/ Associated Objectors to Military Service (DFG-VK)	21,500	World Peace Council; GDR Peace Council
Democratic Women's Initiative (DFI)	--	Committee of Soviet Women; GDR Democratic Women's League (DFD)
Union of Democratic Jurists in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin (VDJ)	--	International Union of Democratic Jurists (IUDJ); GDR Union of Democratic Jurists

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Table 1 (Continued)

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Estimated Membership</u>	<u>CPSU/WPC/GDR* and Other Soviet Front Linkages</u>
<u>In West Berlin</u>		
Party college groups	400	--
Action Associations of Democrats and Socialists (ADS)	500	--
Karl Liebknecht Socialist Youth Association (SJY)	700	Soviet Komsomol; GDR Free German Youth (FDJ)
Democratic Women's League of Germany (DFB)	600	GDR Democratic Women's League
West Berlin Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime/Association of Anti-fascists (VVN-VdA)	300	GDR Committee of Anti-fascist Resistance Fighters

SOURCE: West German Interior Ministry

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\*GDR - East German  
CPSU - Soviet  
WPC - World Peace Council

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